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THE RELATIONS OF BRAZIL WITH THE UNITED STATES



BY

MANOEL DE OLIVEIRA LIMA
OF THE BRAZILIAN ACADEMY OF LETTERS
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The Executive Committee of the Association for International Conciliation wish to arouse the interest of the American people in the progress of the movement for promoting international peace and relations of comity and good fellowship between nations. To this end they print and circulate documents giving information as to the progress of these movements, in order that individual citizens, the newspaper press, and organizations of various kinds may have readily available accurate information on these subjects. A list of publications will be found on page 15.

Manoel de Oliveira Lima was born at Recife, Brazil, in 1867. Educated in Portugal, he early devoted himself to the career of diplomacy. As the fruits of study and observation, gathered in the course of extensive travels in Europe, Asia and America, he has published descriptive works on the United States and Japan, and numerous treatises of a literary and historical character, which won for him the distinction of membership in the Brazilian Academy of Letters and in foreign learned societies. In recent years, while Minister to Belgium, he has lectured before the Sorbonne and several universities of the United States on the history and present conditions of his native country.

THE RELATIONS OF BRAZIL WITH THE UNITED STATES

The relations between the United States and Brazil, that is, between the two greatest powers of the Western Hemisphere, have always been very friendly and are at present most cordial. They rest on a basis of loyal understanding and mutual respect, which excludes all idea of protection and subordination, an essential condition for an unreserved and profitable intercourse. If Brazil cannot boast of the population or of the wealth of the United States, she has nevertheless an almost equal size and most abundant resources, whether exploited or unexplored. The area of the United States reckons 3,617,673 square miles, including Alaska; that of Brazil, 3,218,130 square miles. The greatest rivers in the world run through their respective territories, and no other countries afford such an amount of economic possibilities, which in no few cases have already been turned into realities.

BEGINNINGS OF BRAZILIAN NATIONALITY

The political conditions of Brazil during the last century have also contributed in no small degree to this good feeling, which appears as one of the best factors of peace and one of the strongest elements of interna-

tional harmony in America. Brazil had scarcely to struggle for her independence, whereas the Spanish possessions underwent a most severe ordeal. Their war lasted fifteen years and was bloody and cruel. The spirit of loyalty in the colonies felt very keenly the usurpation of the Spanish crown by the French Emperor, and later the idea of liberty pierced through the refusal to submit to a foreign dynasty.

In Brazil, meanwhile, a national dynasty had been established by the removal of the Portuguese Court from Lisbon to Rio de Janeiro, when Napoleon's armies invaded the Iberian Peninsula, and declared the House of Braganza excluded from the throne. King John VI and his family stayed in Brazil from 1808 to 1821, a circumstance which gave the Brazilian progress a character of steadiness at which her neighbors could not aim, entangled as they were in their political turmoil.

EARLY RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES

Diplomatic relations were soon established between the United States and the court of Rio de Janeiro. Thomas Sumter was appointed Minister to Rio de Janeiro on June 7, 1810, and stayed at his post until 1819, when John Graham was dispatched. The first Brazilian Minister to Washington was José Manoel de Camara (May 13, 1810), who was succeeded in 1816 by Corrêa da Serra, a gifted scientist.

In 1815 Brazil was raised to the rank of a United Kingdom with rights and privileges equal to those of the mother country; but the United States, although a republic imbued with a true democratic spirit, felt perfectly at ease in dealing with a monarchy which, while still European in name and mind, was in fact already an American power.

A diplomatic representative to Washington was appointed by the Prince Regent of Brazil before independence was proclaimed and Dom Pedro became the first emperor of Brazil. The fact of the new American nation being an empire did not at all affect the friendly aspect of such international relations. The United States has never made of democracy an article of exportation; much less imposed it upon foreign countries. It contents itself with acting through the suggestion of its example of political wisdom and civic elevation. Moreover, the Spanish republics were at that time in so appalling a situation of social unrest and confusion, that it was a relief for the United States to have at least a possible mate on its own continent.

RECOGNITION OF THE MONROE DOCTRINE

Brazil was indeed the first American power to admit and rejoice at the Monroe Doctrine, which in its first meaning was so acceptable to young, thinly peopled and weak nations, over which hung the menace of re-colonization. On its side the United States was the

first foreign power to recognize the Empire of Brazil, on May 26, 1824; its independence dating from September 7, 1822. Portugal only admitted the accomplished facts by the treaty signed on August 29, 1825, through the mediation of the British Government, then in the hands of Canning, who, with the far-reaching sight of a statesman, had realized in full all the importance of the autonomy of the New World.

It is to be remembered that even England had commercial interests and humanitarian ideas at stake when she gave her help to Brazil. The British Government wanted the maintenance of a tariff which assured her mercantile profits and insisted on the abolition of the slave trade. The United States, on the contrary, was at that time rather disinterested in the matter, notwithstanding its keen attention to traffic: it had more in view American freedom and solidarity.

THE IDEA OF ALLIANCE EXCLUDED

The Brazilian Empire looked in vain for an offensive and defensive alliance with the *Great Nation of the North*, as the United States was styled at the time in the literary language of its sister nations of the South. Washington's able policy of no entangling alliances was too much of a political dogma, besides being a political necessity, to allow such an experience. The two countries continued, however, to gravitate toward one another.

Brazilian diplomatic papers of 1824 already refer to an "American policy," although perfectly conscious of the effect upon European Governments of both the expression and the novelty. A clear mention is found in the instructions to the Brazilian Chargé d'Affaires in Washington, signed on January 31, 1824, of the famous message of President Monroe of December 3, 1823. Such are the terms:

"The nature of the political principles of the United States is enough to hasten our recognition, and such principles derive from the President's recent message a more general application to all nations of this continent, as the necessity is therein stated of our union for the defence of our rights and territories."

This was the time of Bolivar's generous plans for an American confederation, for a modern Amphictyonic League sitting at Panama and ready to fight all reactionary designs from the Holy Alliance.

The resistance of Spain had been compelled gradually to vanish and had consequently ceased to be sufficiently dangerous to draw her former colonies together. Brazil had really even less to fear from Portugal, which since 1820 had within her own boundaries an open strife between liberals and absolutists. Political unions may begin henceforth to be expected from any conscious feeling: they were until now only to be derived from instinctive alarms.

AMITY STRENGTHENED IN RECENT YEARS

Yet the bonds uniting Brazil and the United States grew stronger every day. They were first economic, more than anything else, and afterwards became moral too. No serious incident ever happened to injure them. In the whole history of such diplomatic relations there are only to be found slight differences regarding sea prizes made during the war of 1825-28, as a result of the blockade of Argentine ports by a Brazilian squadron, and the capture of the privateer *Florida* by the cruiser *Wachusett* in Brazilian territorial waters (1864).

Brazil's acknowledgment of Maximilian's Empire in Mexico may be partially explained by this disregard for a foreign sovereignty, although it was mostly due to the need, experienced by the Brazilian Government, of courting European powers—France especially, where a Brazilian battleship was in construction, over which hung an embargo—in view of the war waged by Paraguay.

In every case of an international disagreement, the United States, notwithstanding its strength, gave full satisfaction to Brazil. The most recent case is the coffee valorization business, considered for a moment as falling under the laws against the trusts, but soon given its real meaning of a legitimate mercantile operation conducted by a Government in order

to protect the most important article of national production.

THE BONDS OF TRADE

Commercial relations between the two nations have been increasing every year, reaching the highest level among American countries. They were represented in 1911 by such figures as—\$106,183,528 for the importation in the United States of Brazilian products, and \$28,828,409 for the importation in Brazil of American products. The United States is the best customer for coffee and rubber—the chief articles of Brazilian exportation, the first reckoning \$72,814,428 out of that amount—but during the reciprocity agreement of 1891 entries of Brazilian sugar in American ports were threefold larger (80,000 tons in 1890, 240,000 tons in 1894). Brazil has long established dealings with European manufacturers and to her taste European articles are perhaps more suitable: the importation of American goods is, however, constantly in progress. In the lists of the Customs Houses, scientific instruments and locomotives figure immediately after flour and oil.

The American Government insisted more than any other on the opening of the Amazon and its tributaries to foreign merchant vessels, and this freedom was finally granted in 1867. In early placing emphasis upon commercial questions, which have always played

a capital rôle in its activity, American diplomacy has in this way foreseen the chief feature of modern foreign policy.

NEUTRALITY AND FRIENDSHIP

Moral sympathy followed in the steps of such economical relations and gave them a finer touch. Brazil's regard for the United States has occasionally become enthusiastic, and the United States, on its side, prizes at its true value the sincerity of Brazilian friendship, which was patent even when the Spanish-American nations resented the attack on their mother country, although apparently it pretended to be justified by the necessity for Cuban freedom.

Brazil neutral, but a firm friend, was the formula adopted for the situation of 1898 in that case. Brazil and England were in fact the only countries that did not distrust the American allegations of generosity and humanity in the matter.

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RECOLLECTIONS OF DOM PEDRO II, AND RECOGNITION OF THE REPUBLIC

The last Emperor of Brazil is still remembered in the United States. Many are living who will recall his presence at the inauguration of the Centennial Exhibition of Philadelphia in 1876 and his prolonged tour through the whole country, in which he

left the most pleasing impressions of his democratic and gentle manners, his wonderful activity, his keen curiosity, his highly cultivated intelligence, his noble demeanor and his humane feelings. The United States did not forget, when the Republic was proclaimed in Brazil, that Dom Pedro II had been the only sovereign to pay an official visit to the American Union, and the speeches delivered in Congress by men like Senator Sherman and Senator Edmunds were much more in praise of the great good monarch than of the revolution that overthrew his throne.

Blaine, who was then Secretary of State under President Harrison, on the other hand, was heartily in favor of the new republic; and the assistance given to his policy at the Pan-American Conference of 1889 (the same year of the proclamation of the Brazilian Republic) by the Brazilian delegate, Salvador de Mendonça, soon confirmed this feeling in the country at large. Such a change could not be better expressed than by the treaty of general and compulsory arbitration concluded between the two countries, and never ratified, simply because it was ahead of its time, which is a pretty good reason to its credit.

Mr. Salvador de Mendonça wrote recently that the cordiality between the United States and Brazil dates from Dom Pedro's journey: the respect and affection that he personally inspired gave birth to a deep regard for his people.

BRAZILIAN AND AMERICAN DIPLOMATS AS PROMOTERS OF CORDIALITY

Brazil had excellent representatives at Washington before Mr. Salvador de Mendonça; and after him Ambassador Nabuco made a lasting impression owing to his refined culture; but no one ever worked with such knowledge of American ways and such sympathy with American purposes. He was the right man at the right moment, and the American papers did not exaggerate when they published on his departure that he was leaving behind him 70 millions of friends, the whole population of the country at that time.

This remark was determined by his admirable farewell speech to President McKinley (1898), in which he pleaded for an equal assumption by all nations of the American continent of the duties and responsibilities of the Monroe Doctrine, so depriving this international formula of the exclusive and arrogant character that it had taken in their eyes.

The former Brazilian Minister may find his match in the present Ambassador from the United States, the Hon. Edwin Vernon Morgan, an intellectual man and a gentleman, who is winning every heart in Brazil and trying to make good in an honest and clever way the words of one of his predecessors, Richard Kidder Meade, who, on presenting his credentials to Dom Pedro in 1857, had frankly spoken—for the first time

on the American side—of an alliance between the two great powers on the destinies of which, as he said, were dependent the two great continents where they were respectively located. “Such an alliance,” the American Minister added, “will ensure for mutual defence, a unity of action and feeling that will prove invincible in the future.”

MORAL UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN THE TWO NATIONS

There was perhaps some underlying reference in this policy to a community of political and social interests caused by the maintenance of slavery in the South of the United States and in the whole of Brazil. These are things of the past, in the realm which specially belong to the historian. Relations are at present determined and stimulated by nobler feelings, or at least by reasons that can be openly avowed. Commerce may be the fundamental basis, but there is none the less a strong, ethical factor, and a political understanding is very much stronger when it rests on a foundation of economic union and intellectual intercourse.

VISIT OF THE BRAZILIAN MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

The United States is now receiving an official testimony of Brazil's amity. Thirty-seven years after the Emperor's voyage, the Minister of Foreign Rela-

tions of the Republic has landed on American soil, to return the call of the Secretary of State Elihu Root, and repeat to the President of the United States that his country has no better friend than Brazil, no nation which nurtures for the American Union a stronger sentiment of moral solidarity.

The utterance will be so much the more easily believed in that it will not come from the mouth of a professional diplomatist, as a more or less perfunctory automatic song of friendly tune. Mr. Lauro Müller is a man of scientific attainments, a military engineer of the Goethals type. He was the leading spirit in the development of the Brazilian harbors and railways before becoming Minister of Foreign Affairs. In this position he has so dealt with the foreign relations of Brazil as to free them from all suspicion of political intrigue and lend them an element not only of profound national loyalty but of modern progress.

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

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67. Music as an International Language, by Daniel Gregory Mason, June, 1913.

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69. The Relations of Brazil with the United States, by Manoel de Oliveira Lima, August, 1913.

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